1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

8

## Daily Life of the Fishing Village

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira



is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge.

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans childish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms.

## THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Okinawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over 700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good."

Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is necessary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions.

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira



women chant. The tempo becomes more and more frenzied, and at a certain moment a bell rings. Nobody knows who rings it, and no amount of questioning elicited any information other than that this was done by divine action.

Ancestral worship is equally important in the life of Taira people. Each house of an oldest son has a shelf with a shrine in the main living room. On this shelf the family keeps the ancestral tablets, each representing a deceased ancestor of a recent period. The tablets for whole family lines are kept on the shelves of the main houses. Through this system a family maintains continuity between the living and the dead. Although a deceased person is believed to become a buddha or a god who ascends to heaven, his presence is still felt by the living relatives. If they fail to make the required offerings on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month, or otherwise neglect religious duties toward the ancestor, misfortune may come to the family. At the same time, the worship of common ancestors holds branches of the larger kin groups together.

No village adult died during our stay, but the funeral practices for adults described by Glacken (1955) and Pitts et al. (1955) for other villages in Okinawa are similar. Seven years is the age limit for a child burial, which is simple and does not require attendance of people other than immediate relatives and perhaps one or two neighbors.* During the study an 8-year-old boy died from an illness and was given a full funeral, which is similar to that of adults.

The funeral must take place at the first outgoing tide after the body has been prepared and dressed. Accompanied by family, residents of the ward, and mourners from other parts of the village whose number depends on the prominence of the dead, the body is carried on a simple, open litter to the tomb area just west of the central village (see map 2). Women feel free to show their emotions, while men remain outwardly calm. Until decomposition takes place, the body remains in a tomb used by the whole village for temporary entombment. Like other village ceremonies, funerals are less elaborate now than they once were, perhaps to the relief of all concerned, since death is highly anxiety provoking, and nobody feels comfortable during the prayers and the ritual farewell to the corpse at the tomb. The participants receive a cup of sake before leaving the tomb area to cleanse them of the pollution of death. Some people still prefer to return to the village by a different route so that the spirit of the dead person will be fooled and unable to follow.

* The reason for this is possibly that the younger child has not yet fulfilled his filial obligations.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira



765 After death, memorial services are held in the home of the deceased
769 every seventh day until the 49th day when a more elaborate ceremony
782 concludes this period, and a permanent tablet is installed on the house shrine. On this day, too, offerings to the deceased change from white rice to red-colored rice, indicating the end of the mourning period. From now on, observances in memory of the dead are held on the first, third, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversary of death. These are small family affairs at which special food is prepared and offered at the shrine before it is consumed.

765 The body is left in the tomb for at least three years until a propitious day when the whole village decides to wash the bones of all those who have died within the preceding three to seven years. On Bone Washing Day little groups of family members gather around the coffin. They take out the bones, clean them, wrap them in a white cloth and place
[778] them in an urn. Women do all the cleaning of bones because it is be-
[152] lieved that they have more power to expel the evil. They weep freely,
[852] and even some men find it hard to restrain their emotions. Young children are kept away from the tomb area at this time. The urns are then placed inside the family tomb, which has been opened for this purpose. Remains other than bones are burned with the coffin.

769 Every lunar March ancestral services take place at the tombs, at-
782 tended by many members of the kin groups to whom each tomb belongs. Some come from the city or other villages for this occasion, including women who have married into another kin group. This celebration of the dead is more serious than other religious events. Offerings of sake and special delicacies are made and then eaten by the family group. One family, sitting in picnic style around the tomb after their prayers, even began to sing and dance—probably to the delight of the ancestors who in their life must have enjoyed many a good feast and dance. Tombs of other relatives may also be visited for short prayers and other offerings.

775 Spirits of the dead are harmful only if the deceased is not from the
784 village. For this reason new residents formerly could not bury their
766 dead near the village. Even now, recent settlers in the central village
[764] have no tombs and keep their dead in urns in a cave, and the residents of outlying houses or field houses have a separate tomb area altogether. If a stranger happens to die in the village, measures are taken to prevent his spirit from doing harm. The body of a fisherman from southern Okinawa was brought to shore after a storm. There it was left for several hours on the beach under a tent in the hot sun until relatives arrived in a hired car to take the body home. Even then peo-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira



diseases seemed to be below the expected rate for Okinawa, in general, and we had the impression that Taira people are healthy on the whole. Only one case of leprosy, which had been removed to a special hospital on the island of Yagaji, was reported from Taira.

Among the children there were frequent complaints of intestinal diseases. Most children seem to lodge a variety of parasites, mostly hookworms and tapeworms, and many were subject to skin ailments. One girl had a severe case of what was thought by the nurse to be congenital syphilis. The skin of her whole body was covered with sores which were a constant source of irritation. This 4-year-old never appeared in the company of children other than her younger sister. She would stand in front of her house, her face swollen, her head stooped from discomfort and embarrassment. Almost all children have impetigo and various kinds of rashes. During the summer these cover their faces and parts of the body. Almost all have marks of boils which have plagued them in the course of years.

Because sickness is always a threat, it creates fear, and any explanation which may restore some hope is important knowledge. Although some Western or modern theories about disease have been introduced recently through the school and the village nurse, they filter into every house only slowly and do not materially affect what has been handed down as popular knowledge from older members of each household. Most Taira people are probably quite eclectic in their beliefs as well as in their choice of treatments, so that it would be difficult to ascribe to them any single body of theory of disease.

Home remedies, often applied by old women, are widespread. The most popular ones are blood letting and the use of *moxa* cautery. Whenever people agree that there is "bad" blood in an adult's or child's system, it must be removed. There are many phenomena which are accounted for by the presence of "bad" blood. Visible signs such as eczema of the skin or swellings are such indications, but malfunctioning of certain organs, the stomach, liver, kidneys, can also call for the removal of "bad" blood. Mothers expose infants as young as five days to the treatment, which may be preventive as well as curative. Pointing to a bluish green area on the infant's back (not the mongoloid spot), whether real or imagined, the mother swabs the area with sake before she or the grandmother make numerous ¼-inch incisions with a razor. After the blood starts to ooze out of the tiny wounds, more sake is rubbed into the skin. The mixture of blood and sake is caught and rubbed on again and again until all the undesirable blood has been drained.

So many Taira babies have eczema that this treatment takes place

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira



women in Taira. Three young mothers, who continued to work despite the discomfort and pain of swollen extremities, consulted with the doctor in the nearby town, and a fourth described this condition, which had prohibited her from any but the most simple and undemanding work. The old people look upon unusual pregnancies in askance. "Work, good, hard physical labor is what we did and we never had any difficulties. Young people pamper themselves."

Special foods and advice are proffered the expectant mother for the benefit of the baby. "Eat this so that you will have lots of milk for the baby. Remember that spicy things are bad for the baby. Do you recall the one who was born with a great patch of hair on its arms? Its mother was frightened by a great big cat while she was carrying that child," comment villagers to the mother. Some husbands indulge their wives' cravings for special delicacies like expensive imported fruits.

To keep the baby in position, a sash is wound several times about the pregnant woman's abdomen by a midwife or some old woman.

In the "old days" it was not unusual for a woman to return from the mountains or fields carrying her newborn. Grandmothers recall with relish the days when "Women paid little heed to their condition, did hard work, and had their babies without a whimper." "The women today pamper themselves," snap the wizened grandmothers watching an expectant mother resting between trips to the mountains.

As the day of parturition approaches, the expectant mother schedules her work to remain as close to the house as possible. When labor starts, she retires to the back room of the house, which is situated next to the kitchen. The medical practitioner, or in his absence a midwife,* is called to assist in the delivery. The husband's mother, if she lives in the house, or other older related women attend. A man may be present during his wife's first delivery but at subsequent births will wait with some of the women in the front room. In the old days a woman was supported by her husband or someone else in a half-sitting position. Nowadays, however, women give birth lying down. Only rarely does a woman in labor cry out in pain. Soft crying is permissible, but any loud demonstration would elicit contemptuous comments from the older women. "If you had worked hard, the baby would not be so big, then labor would not be difficult," is an often heard retort.

Informal interviewing revealed that birth takes place in a large number of cases during late evening or early morning hours. Usually children of the house sleep on undisturbed. Should they awake, they are kept out of the delivery room, although the youngest may be allowed to enter to visit with his mother shortly after delivery.

The newborn is bathed in tepid water then bundled in blankets,

* At present there is no midwife in Taira.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira



844 [853] kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 593 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 851 156 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby always laugh and be pleasant." A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

[152]

852 565 462 [178] [286] Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 565 538 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach. Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 178 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1983 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira



In the houses of first sons there are family altars upon which memorial tablets of family ancestors are placed. Children from these homes are told that their deceased grandfathers are now divine beings and are watching them. In one such family a 4-year-old boy was told by his mother that, since he was naughty, the divine ancestor would punish him. She pointed to the picture of his deceased grandfather and the memorial tablets on the altar. The little boy looked up to the shelf and then to his mother. "That's only a memorial tablet," he said sneeringly. 861 778 769

Not many children are as skeptical as this 4-year-old. A hunchbacked storyteller sometimes comes to Taira. This man is a preacher for a Japanese sect which combines Japanese nationalistic teachings and concepts of proper conduct and healthful living with a belief in a supreme being. He appeals to children and reinforces the belief in the sanctioning power of God. Occasionally a Christian missionary visits the village, and the children look forward to his bible readings, which also reinforce the belief. In addition, the children of the two Christian families help to caution others, warning of divine omnipresence and knowledge. 861 776 177

Shaming and ridicule as techniques of socialization are used to a fair extent. An older child's shortcomings may frequently be compared with a younger's achievements. However, some form of verbal lashing is usually accompanied by direct physical punishment, whether it be merely a slap on the buttocks, a crack on the head, or a whipping. 861

Several mothers summed up their flexibility in handling their children by saying, "I have so many children and it seems that each one is different in some way. For some children one thing works and for others you have to think of other ways. You cannot scold this one because she is so sensitive. The boy you cannot scold because he would get so angry he would not be able to understand the wrong he did."

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that mothers in Taira, for the most part, do not spend as much time with their children as do their counterparts in a more wealthy village. Their work day is long and strenuous. They return home exhausted and impatient. During the long rainy spells, when work in the fields and mountains is impossible, mothers have to stay home more often than usual. At such times they manifest an irritability with respect to the numerous demands children make upon them that can be attributed partly to the fact that their long absence from home during a normal work day makes them forget children's cravings for attention; the loss of income during bad weather just increases their impatience. 861 462 [184] [152]

857 a type of milkweed which was to be fed to the chickens. The older boy
868 would walk on a way, carefully searching the ground, stop when he spotted some milkweed, and call to the younger ones, "There are some near the spot on which I am standing!" The two little boys would rush over and start examining the area carefully. With a shout one of them would drop to the ground, uproot the plant, and bear it triumphantly to his older cousin. Then the game would continue with the older boy saying, "Good child."

861 The relatively few restrictions placed on the young child are an important basis for learning. By being able to participate freely, children learn what is going on in their village from day to day. Since adults feel that children do not really understand what they are talking about, conversations are free and not couched in mysterious terms. The 10-year-old who is fully aware of the subject under discussion may giggle uncontrollably, but none of the adults pays attention to this. An adult giving a blow-by-blow description of the latest quarrel may even turn to a 10- or 12-year-old child for aid when he forgets a detail

## SOCIALIZING AGENTS

855 In general mothers continue to be the chief socializers, with the
593 grandmother and older siblings second in importance. From the
861 child's point of view, the mother retains the closest bond with him throughout childhood, regardless of the grandmother's prominent role in his early life, and even though, in terms of time which the child spends with others, the mother gradually assumes less importance. It is to the mother that children turn for ultimate support, and to her is delegated the responsibility of child rearing in Taira. Although much of the responsibility for caring for children is given to siblings, the villagers hold the mother alone culpable, should a child deviate in his behavior.

855 The mother's ultimate responsibility for the child is not reduced
857 by the fact that she may spend a great part of the day away from her
593 offspring. Mothers frequently ask other children for the whereabouts of a son or a daughter. Just as the fieldworkers soon learned in what places they would be most likely to find a particular child, so mothers on the whole are aware of their children's favorite play areas. A
● [152] mother occasionally inquires about her children's whereabouts without showing anxiety. The fieldworkers were once asked by a mother if they knew where her daughter, who carried an infant sister, was

of a first son the parents' responsibility toward him may even increase as he grows older, since the continuity of the family depends upon him. Also the child's duty to obey his parents does not end with his majority, and this duty also may be stronger for a first son. All this is in sharp contrast with the situation in American society, where the responsibility of the parent to the child is greatest when the child is small and gradually recedes as the child grows older, where the parents' responsibilities toward minor children are identical regardless of the sex or age of the child relative to others, and where the duty of the child to obey its parents clearly ends when it reaches majority.

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is also closer than is commonly the case in the United States. There is greater physical intimacy, there are greater mutual obligations, and there is therefore a greater feeling of security derived from the relationship.

The relationship of siblings too is different from that in the United States. There is no equality among Okinawan brothers; each has his own status, the first son having the most responsibility and the most privileges. Sisters are inferior to their brothers, but are more nearly equal to each other. But the brothers constitute a single unit even though they are unequal, the very numbering of them, first son, second son, and so forth, sets them apart as a unit separate from other units composed of numbered sons. As adults they are expected to cooperate, and usually do. It seems likely that the American passion for equality, with its resulting arguments among children as to who got the larger piece of pie, may result in greater conflict among siblings than exists in Okinawan society.

I have attempted to indicate briefly some of the main features of the Okinawan family, how it differs from the American family, and how it provides a greater sense of security for the individual. This security, it should be emphasized, is at the expense of freedom and equality. Later, in discussing the life of the individual, I shall examine some of these features more closely. Moreover, I shall also try to show that family life not only provides the individual with a feeling of security, but also provides him with the pattern of relationships that he extends to the rest of the world and is the source of some of his basic anxieties.

Classification of Kin It has long been recognized that the categories of language are likely to be the categories of thought, and that if we are to understand how the members of another society see some aspect of reality---color, plant life, the passage of time, we can well begin by learning how they classify their perception---by studying their color terms, botanical taxonomy, terms for the seasons and other divisions of time. In the study of social organization this method is even more useful because the reality as well as the conception is man-made. Thus the categories into which the members of a society group their kinfolk have proved to be important clues to the organization of that society. I shall therefore describe briefly the kinship terms used by the Okinawans.

The terms themselves do not matter for this purpose. They vary from place to place and from social class to class. But it is significant that

858 children to be "little people". From this viewpoint the Okinawans appear to
171 regard children as being not yet quite human. Okinawan children can observe, overtly or covertly, probably a good deal more of adult life than American children can observe and Okinawan adults discuss matters in front of children that American adults would not discuss before children, yet the Okinawan adult appears to expect his children to understand far less of what is done or said than the American does. To illustrate, an Okinawan grandmother may discuss a three-year old's illegitimate origin in its presence, tease it to the point of tears by offering to give it away to the passing American, and then say nothing when it wantonly snatches and breaks something of value. The American is likely to regard the talking as a possible cause of complexes, the teasing as downright cruel, and the tolerance as intolerable lack of discipline.

Small children are free to observe all that goes on in the house and yard during their waking hours. They are not subject to any rules determining when they are to go to bed. There is hardly a formal gathering into which they cannot insinuate themselves for hand-outs. They are taken to the theatre, where they may have to be shooed off the stage by the actors themselves.
864 The only aspect of life that seems to be deliberately withheld from them is
858 sex. They are told that babies come out of their mothers' knees, and although they may overhear a good deal about the sexual relationships of different people and the difficulties that result from them, they are given no notion of the nature of sex. I will discuss this in more detail under attitudes toward sex.

858 Although children seem bold in actions, they are not bold in speech.
856 As a matter of fact they often do not respond when spoken to and seem unwilling to venture to speak at all. I make this statement not merely on the
[104] basis of my own experience as an outsider attempting to talk to them; an Okinawan friend also pointed out how different the children in the north were from those of Central and Southern Okinawa---the Northern children answered his questions when he spoke to them. Some of the children's shyness about speaking may be due to the fact that they usually speak Okinawan in the home
• [152] and then have to learn Japanese in school. Moreover, they soon learn to feel that Okinawan is inferior to Japanese as a medium of polite or intellectual expression; they may be shy because they fear to speak Okinawan since it is inferior and because they fear to speak Japanese since they cannot speak it well. But I have the impression that children are also often unresponsive when an adult speaks to them in Okinawan and when the language of the answer
868 is not a factor. I believe that there is another factor that is almost in-
171 herent in the nature of both the Japanese and the Okinawan languages. When
198 speaking to children in Japanese, and also very likely when speaking in Okinawan, adults use a different form of speech than the form they use when addressing adults. Somewhat different forms of speech for children are probably used in every society; they do exist in the United States, but never to such a striking extent as in Japanese. Japanese and Okinawan both have a range of verb forms expressing several degrees of politeness or formality, and to some extent there are also levels of vocabulary corresponding to them. In speaking to a child, the adult uses the simplest verb forms, the simplest words, and then speaks not in whole sentences but rather in a series of phrases each

later told the story to Lebra in the child's presence with a good deal of relish, while the boy merely looked sheepish and said nothing. 861

Punishment may be by either parent or by a grandparent. Other relatives may scold. I once observed a four-year-old being scolded long and shrilly by her father's sister. I asked why the mother, who was just inside the house, did not do the scolding and I was told that the child would not mind her mother and so the aunt had had to step in. I was also given the impression that the child's mother would hardly have dared defend her. It seems likely that mothers and grandmothers punish most frequently but that fathers, though they punish less frequently, are more severe; they are certainly more feared. It is said that after a child is punished it is usually comforted by the adult who punished it. There are, of course, individual differences. One man at Nanahan was known to be particularly harsh with his children. Pitts observed him on one occasion chasing one of his children around the village with a strap.

Okinawan adults, especially women, frequently tease children. On two occasions I saw a particularly cocky little boy of three or four teased in a deliberate attempt to make him angry or to make him cry. On the first occasion one of his aunts, his mother's oldest sister, struck the boy's baby sister, pretending to hurt her. He was very fond of the baby and the object of the teasing seemed to be to arouse his sympathy to the point where he would have showed his emotions, at which point, I assume, the crowd of women would have laughed. This time the teasing was unsuccessful. On the second occasion his mother and her sisters told him first that I was going to take him away, then that I was going to take his little sister away, and produced other variations on this theme. After several minutes of this he went grimly over to his mother and began hitting her with his fists. The women all regarded this as great sport. No effort was made to stop him from hitting his mother. This sort of teasing seems to have amusement as its main object, but probably has other functions as well. It may possibly provide women a necessary outlet for feelings of hostility, especially against males. But it may also have the more important functions of producing in the child the desirable emotional responses---sympathy for the little sister, fear of losing her, fear of being separated from home---while at the same time conditioning the child to inhibit the expression of these emotions. 855 [154] [867] [152]

On another occasion I saw the mother of the children just mentioned hold out a lighted match in front of the baby until the baby, after regarding it in wonderment, reached out and was burned. The women watched expectantly and laughed when the baby cried, but in this case the act seemed more like deliberate instruction in the properties of fire than merely teasing. But as in teasing, the discomfort to the child is something not to be avoided but rather to be enjoyed. And as in teasing, the child learns to associate laughter with his own discomfort, or perhaps with his expression of his discomfort. He may thereby learn to avoid being laughed at because it is associated with discomfort, and to avoid the expression of discomfort because it brings laughter. [861] [155]

855 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be re-
861 stated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

0152 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt"
181 that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese.
171 Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they
861 fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

837
524 Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both,
[20] if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's
[177] magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[56] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

882 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fif-
178 teenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was
[881] also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and
[877] the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite.
877 But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the
882 life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the behavior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

2 Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

769 On the spring and autumn equinoxes imitation money is burned, on other occa-
527 sions special food is offered, and so forth.

775 In spite of the great concern that Okinawans appear to take for the
969 welfare of the dead, they can tell one surprisingly little about what happens to them. According to one account, the dead person crosses seven bridges on his way to the other world; if he has led a wicked life he may have difficulty crossing them. In the next world he needs food and drink and money to pay taxes. Eventually, unless something holds him to this world, he becomes a "Buddha" (J. 'hotoke') or a "god" (J. 'kami-sama')---the terms seem synonymous---and ascends to Heaven. The most clearly defined and frequently heard notion seems to be simply that there is a vast and awful chasm between "this world" and "that world" and that a person who has once crossed the chasm ought to stay on the other side. A dead person may return, however, and appear to the living as a ghost if something disturbs him---a wrong unrighted, for example. Ghosts may attack former enemies or even harm anyone who happens to be around. But also a deceased person may cause disease or other misfortune to come to his own living relatives and descendants if he has not had sufficient help from them through their offerings. Thus many Okinawans, particularly the older people, are greatly concerned about the possibility of an ugwan-busuku, an "insufficiency (fusuku) of worship (ugwan)." They explain sickness, accidents, and lack of success in undertakings as the result of some ugwan-busuku. And so they consult with yuta and other dealers in the supernatural to determine where the insufficiency lies.

They also interpret success or good fortune, especially that which helps the family or larger kin group, as due to the help of the deceased ancestors. A woman gave the following incident as an example. During the bombing that preceded the landing in 1945 she had left the cave where her family was hiding to go to a neighbor's cave just when a great-uncle appeared there looking for a midwife to deliver a daughter's baby. The two related families had not known of each others' whereabouts and the informant's family was overjoyed to be able to move to the better cave of the great-uncle. This, the informant said, was not the result of the protection of the gods but of the ancestors.

The concern of the Okinawans for the dead is great, but it is hard to avoid the conclusion that it is motivated primarily by concern for the living.

### 3. Prospect of Change

• 152 Family life provides the individual with the security that he desires
593 but at the same time it gives him a basis for feelings of anxiety. The feelings of security he derives from the love he receives as a child, the honor he receives as a parent, and the knowledge that he will not be neglected in the next world. The solidarity of the family and the continuity of the family are essential to this security and so they are constantly stressed. But he also derives feelings of anxiety from family life. As a child he is carried around in an intimate fashion and then put down and made to run to keep

up; he is made to find most of his needs satisfied by his mother and then he is told that he may be given away if he is not obedient; later he is made to believe that the spirits of his ancestors are protecting him, but when he becomes ill he is told that it is because he has not given them enough offerings. The threat in each of these instances is abandonment, being cut off from his family, because of insufficiency---disobedience or unfiliality. The fear that this threat creates does much to maintain the family system. It probably also accounts for the fear Okinawans seem to have of being alone, and their frequent use, remarked upon by several observers, of the word 'sabishii', "lonely". It may also account for their frequently expressed view of Okinawa itself as a lonely, remote, and neglected island. 152◆ 593 [829]

Family life also provides the individual with a pattern for human relationships. In the family he learns what behavior is appropriate to the status of older sibling and younger sibling, parent and child, male and female; he learns about authority, responsibility, and mutual obligation. This pattern of relationships learned in the family he reads into the larger society, and, entering the larger society he assumes the roles learned in the family. He defers to seniors; he expects juniors and females to defer to him. If he is a farmer he may expect instruction and support from the government, as a child expects it from his parents. If he is an official or a teacher he may at times deliberately speak down to the less educated and at other times deliberately speak over their heads, as a parent does with his children. 593 867

It seems that several phenomena of recent years should have weakened the old family system. The war destroyed much of the physical reminders of the past and nearly every family lost one or more of its members. The subsequent shift in population further uprooted many. The repatriation brought back people who had long been away, and with them, new ideas. The American occupation has given rural Okinawans a mobility they could not have imagined before. It has provided jobs for many of the younger people, which could mean a degree of economic independence that they could never have had otherwise. The schools have given young people of the opposite sexes more opportunity to meet on a respectable basis than they had ever had before. Yet we find families carrying on in spite of the shift in residence and the loss of important members, repatriates being reintegrated into the larger kin groups, and young people who might be independent turning their earnings over to their elders and asking their elders' permission to marry. Obviously family ties are still strong. 593 178 177

But the structure of the family may still be changing. The relationship between the behavior of individuals in the family and in the larger society is a reciprocal one. It is quite likely that the individual takes the roles that he has learned as a child in the family and plays them as an adult in the larger society, as he interprets its structure. But it is also likely that if the larger society is in a process of change, the individual may reinterpret his roles or even learn new ones to conform to the new structure. He may then go back to his family as a parent and reinterpret its structure on the basis of what he has learned. His behavior as a parent then becomes different from his father's before him. One of the professed aims of the Civil Administration on Okinawa is the democratisation of Okinawan society. [185]

cause misfortune; the ability to do this, he says, is hereditary from mother to daughter. My informants did not identify ichijama with the mabui or any other such entity, but merely explained it as a kind of 'noroi', "curse". Its effect is a sharp pain inside the body or the feeling that a fingernail has been thrust into the eye. If the person responsible is known, they said, the affliction may be cured by spitting in his direction and throwing pig dung in his direction, shouting, "I smear it on your face!" According to Yanagida, a yuta can cure an afflicted person by squeezing his thumb, which causes the thumb of the person responsible to be crushed. 754 [756]

Illness may also be caused by gods or local spirits as punishment for the breaking of tabus. For example, at Yamazato in Chinen-son it was said that on the 1st, 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month the "mountain god" (yama nu kami) makes a circuit of inspection of the mountain behind the village and therefore one cannot go to cut trees or grass on those days for fear of punishment. 753 784

But probably the most frequent interpretation of illness and misfortune is that it is caused by ugwambusuku, an insufficiency of worship (from ugwang, "worship" and fusuku, "insufficiency"). As has been explained, the dead can influence the lives of the living for good or bad. If the ancestors of a family are well cared for, that is, receive the proper offerings and worship, they may help that family to prosper and multiply, but on the other hand, if the ancestors are not cared for they will let the family know of their needs by some light illness, or, if their needs are still ignored, by some greater misfortune. They may not deliberately mean to harm their descendants; the misfortune may be automatic; this point is not clear. At any rate, the fear of ugwambusuku appears to be a very common anxiety and to play a central role in the whole structure of ancestor worship. Various religious practitioners and diviners, but particularly the yuta, are frequently called upon to try to determine where the insufficiency lies, what deceased person has not received his full share of worship and is therefore causing the current illness or other misfortune. To account for such illnesses and misfortunes the yuta and others may have revelations (shirashi) which revise the family's genealogy and even reveal the existence of hitherto unknown ancestors. 753 769 775 [152] [756] [787]

The insufficiency is not always of worship of the ancestors, although this is probably the most frequent type. Illness may also be caused by an insufficiency of worship of the Fire God. It is said that if an illegitimate child or the child of a secondary wife does not worship at least once at the Fire God of his shiji ("line") that is, the Fire God of his father's family, he may become ill. Thus it is not uncommon for the mother of an illegitimate child to bring it to the house of its father and ask to let it pray once to the Fire God there. This practice may also, of course, serve to demonstrate paternity. 753 782 [848] [851]

Also probably related to the concept that the ancestors influence the living is the practice of establishing a fictitious adoptive relationship between a child and an unrelated family. If a child is weakly its mother may ask an unrelated adult to become the yashinee-uya, "adopted parent", 769 783

2) Japanese Political Administration On the negative side is the domination, during the period of Japanese administration, of Okinawan public life by men from Japan. But on the other hand Okinawa became another perfecture and not a colony, and there were possibly not many more men in Okinawa from Japan's urban centers than in other remote and poor perfectures. As Japanese subjects in a Japanese prefecture, Okinawans could rise in the Japanese system and indeed a few did. The position of Okinawa was quite different from that of Korea. 648 829

Insofar as the Japanese policy of assimilation was successful, the fact that most of the important posts in the prefectural government were occupied by men from Tokyo could be ignored. If the Okinawans identified themselves as Japanese the difference would be less important. (The degree of Japanese domination and the harshness of the regime, moreover, seem to have become exaggerated in the minds of many of the Americans on Okinawa at present; some of the USCAR personnel with whom we talked appeared to be unaware of the fact that Okinawa had the same legal status as other parts of Japan.)

3) Japanese Assimilation Policy The policy of the Japanese government and particularly that of the Ministry of Education was undoubtedly one of cultural imperialism. The aim was to produce a uniform people. A strong attempt was made to eradicate the native language and many native customs that did not agree with Japanese ideals, the periodic redivision of land ('jiwari seido') and the use of the pigpen as a toilet, to name two. School teachers labelled the Okinawan language a "dialect" of Japanese, thus giving it inferior status, and labelled many Okinawan beliefs "superstitions". The army also undoubtedly attempted to replace Okinawan with Japanese ideals in many young men. These attempts may have produced hostility in some Okinawans, but it is our impression that the more usual result was to produce merely a feeling of inferiority. Okinawan speech and culture went down in value and Japanese speech and culture went up. Younger Okinawans who could not speak good Japanese felt inferior, but within the Japanese hierarchy. Moreover, in recent years Okinawan speech and customs have been given new prestige as museum pieces by the fact that outstanding Japanese scholars have devoted some attention to them. 648 177 829 152

4) Treatment of Okinawans in Japan Undoubtedly Okinawans who went to Japan in the twenties and thirties to look for employment were disiscriminated against by Japanese employers. A great number of Okinawans went to Osaka to work in the textile mills. Accounts of informants reveal that the mill foremen stereotyped Okinawans as lazy and unreliable and did not hesitate to say so. (In view of the conditions of labor, Americans in the same position might well have earned the same stereotype.) Some mills did not hire Okinawans if they could avoid it. 167 464 177

In rural Japan people were in utter ignorance of Okinawa. Students who were evacuated in 1944 to Kyushu discovered this. One young man told how the peasants in Miyazaki-ken thought that Okinawans were South Sea Islanders and expected them to come wearing clothes made of the leaves of trees and expected to have to teach them how to cook rice. 000

areas where Negroes are more numerous and have become better known. The presence of Negro officers and others of higher status undoubtedly does much to demonstrate to Okinawans that it is possible for non-whites to rise in the American system.

Attitudes toward Other Peoples The Ryukyuan kingdom was once a vassal state of China and had considerable direct contact with China. Among some older Okinawans things Chinese still are valued. However, the younger people who expressed any opinion to us on China and the Chinese expressed opinions almost bordering on contempt. The years of lack of national unity and of Japanese aggression have left their mark on the Okinawan view of China. The news that a group on Formosa has agitated for a reversion of Okinawa to Nationalist China can hardly have been taken seriously by anyone.

Attitudes toward the Filipinos are probably also colored by Japanese attitudes toward "natives" and by American discriminatory practices in wages. Moreover, the fact that many of the Filipinos who have worked on Okinawa speak very poor English probably gives them a lower status in the eyes of the Okinawans.

The Status of Okinawa There is certainly no unanimity of opinion on what would be the most desirable status for Okinawa. As I have tried to indicate, attitudes toward both Japan and the United States are varied and ambivalent. Both practical considerations and emotional reasons have motivated some Okinawans to agitate for reversion to Japan. For most reversionists reversion appears to mean simply political reversion, return of the political administration to Japan; the majority of reversionists do not seem to be saying "Yankee Go Home"; they grant the necessity of military bases on Okinawa both for the military security of the Far East and at present for the economic security of Okinawa. This seems to be the point of view of the Social Mass Party, which won nearly half the seats in the last election.

Generally those who feel that they would gain materially by the reversion of Okinawa are teachers and other state employees who feel that they have lost status, the owners of land being used by the military who feel that reversion would bring the rental up to standards paid in Japan, and some politicians who want to participate in Japanese national as well as local politics. Generally those who would stand to lose by reversion are the businessmen, because of the increase in taxes and the free competition from the large Japanese industries that reversion would bring, the skilled and semi-skilled laborers who might be replaced by Japanese if free movement were permitted between Japan and Okinawa, and again some of the present political leaders.

However, there are emotional reasons for embracing reversionism that may far outweigh practical considerations. In the chapter on family life [152] and again in the chapter on health I stressed one of the basic anxieties created within Okinawan culture---the fear of being cut off from parents, the fear of being cut off from the deceased ancestors, the fear of being alone.

The frequent use of the word 'sabishii', "lonely", expresses this anxiety. One often hears that Okinawa is a 'sabishii' place. The frequant use of the term 'sokoku', "ancestral country", in reversionist literature suggests that this anxiety is operating in the realm of politics too. Many Okinawans do not want to stand alone. They want to be part of a larger system. They cannot identify themselves with the United States or with any other country but Japan and so even though they recognize that Japan in the past did not always treat them fairly, they would still prefer to be part of Japan. This I believe is part of the emotional basis of reversionism; it has its roots in the Okinawan family and Okinawan religion. 668 829 152

For the politically more sophisticated reversionist we must add the discontent he feels with the present regime and the hope that reversion would mean greater political freedom. This type might be more numerous still if it were not for the obvious economic difficulties that reversion would bring, to say nothing of the chaos that would come if American forces were to pull out altogether. 668 829